The English Pope,

OR,

A DISCOURSE

Wherein

The late mysticall Intelligence betwixt the Court of *England*, and the Court of *Rome* is in part discovered.

And withall,

An Account given of the true Grounds of this unnaturall, more then civill Warre.

Together

With an Epistle to the Reverend Divines now convened by Authority of Parliament, for consultation in matters of Religion.

LONDON,

Printed for *Robert Bostock*, dwelling at the signe of the Kings head in Pauls Church-yard, 1643.

AN EPISTLE TO THE Reverend Divines,

Now convened by Authority of *Parliament*, for Conſultation in matters of RELIGION.

THey which have been our chiefeſt Incendiaries of late, and moſt active in renting our Church into parties, do now eagerly upbraid us, not onely as Authors of thoſe ſtrifes, which they themſelves raiſed, but alſo as Fomenters of many more Sects then we are yet acquainted withall. Wherefore for the ceaſing of ſuch contentions as are amongſt us, and vindicating us from ſuch as are not, the Lords and Commons have deſired the aſſiſtance and advice of this Aſſembly: and for the direct contrary purpoſes, the Prelaticall and Popiſh Faction ſtrives by all means to prevent and quell it. But be of good courage, you that have the honour to be choſen of this Aſſembly; fear not the names of Traytors, whileſt you give judgement for Loyalty; nor the names of Anabaptiſts, whileſt you propugne Piety; nor the names of Schiſmaticks, whileſt you ſettle Vnity. Antichriſt heretofore perſecuted the Woman for bringing forth, now with more rage, as if he were more Antichriſt, he perſecutes her for conceiving, nay he ſeeks to prevent conception it ſelf.

But 't is matter of comfort to you that Proclamations of Treaſon are procured againſt you, before you have declared what Doctrine or Diſcipline you will eſtabliſh; ſuch prejudice will rather revert to the diſhonour of them that judge, then

them that are judged: Wisdom cannot but be justified by her children, and so peace, and righteousnesse: Let your results be conformable to the wisdom of the Primatives, and to the peace and piety of our late reformed Christians, and then not you, but your opposers will appear enemies to wisdom, peace, and piety. Did your adversaries beleeve that you would verefie their clamours and calumnies by favouring Anabaptists, &c. 'Twould be for their great advantage to further your convention, but now they fear the contrary; their expectation is, that their former accusations and upbraidings will fall upon their own heads; and matter will be wanting to them hereafter for false assessions, whereby to abuse the people, and deprave you; and that is the reason that they are so vext, and readie to bite their poysonous tongues for anger; be you therefore the more courragious for this, and if you cannot totally irradicate all those doctrines of division which the Prelates have sown among the good wheat; Yet denounce against them, and publish your detestation of them; and if you cannot erect as yet a perfect form of discipline, by reason of these fierce warres made upon you, and the sinnues of Authoritie with-held from you, yet present us with some models of it, that the world may see how far you are from affecting Anarchy or confusion.

I here Communicate some discovery which I have made of our Prelates dangerous machinations both in Church & State, if any of this Reverend Assembly have been further privie to the like mysteries of iniquity, this of mine will do no harm, and if any of you have not been hitherto privy to so much, this may do some good; however, be the discovery what it will, I have reserved it for your view, and do submit it wholly to your censure, if I have offended out of too much antipathy to proud Prelates, do you undeceive the people; for God bears me record I do not wilfully erre or draw others into errour, but if I have spoken truth, let the same truth find the more acceptance for your allowance of it: I confesse I may be more guilty of presumption for advising you, then you are of Treason for advising the Parliament; but light is light in a candlestick of clay, as well as in a candlestick of gold; and truth is truth, as well in a lay man, as in a Priest, and as well in an inferiour Priest, as in the greatest Metrapolitane. The Lord discover more light and truth to us all, and in order thereto prosper this Great Work now in your hands.

A DISCOVRSE CONCERNING THE GROVNDS & CAVSES

of this miſerable civill warre; Wherein *Ireland* is exhauſted, *England* waſted, and *Scotland* likely to be embroyled: and wherein not onely Liberty, but Religion is endangered, &c.

KING *CHARLES* was within few late yeers, quietly poſſeſt of three flouriſhing Kingdoms; and for a while, as his Subjects ſeemed to enjoy all the blandiſhments of peace under his reigne, to the envie of other Nations; ſo he appear'd eminently glorious in the inviolable loyalty and obedience of his Subjects; to the inciting of envy amongſt other Princes.

But to that ſerene, delightfull calme, a moſt diſmall tempeſt hath ſince ſucceeded; and in ſo ſhort a traverſe of time a more wofull, deſperate Cataſtrophe (then this which now confounds both King and Subjects) was ſcarce ever brought about in any other Countrey. All our gameſome Holidayes paſt, ſeem now to us like the ſleep of *Jonah* in the ſhip, the trance thereof onely lockt up our ſenſes for a while, that we might be betrayed to the greater horror and amazement, when the incurſion of unexpected calamities ſhould immediately ſeize us under ſo dead and ſtupid a condition. *Ireland* already is become as ſad a ſpectacle as the ruthleſſe hand of war ever made any ſince *Veſpaſians* dayes: and *England*, though it ſinks a little more ſlowly, yet is in the poſture of ſinking, and is not to be ſupported but by a divine hand more then ordinarie: and laſtly, *Scotland* is but one degree only

more removed from deſtruction. The greater the Popiſh faction is in *Scotland*, and the more potent that Court-party there is, which ſuggeſts to it ſelf probable advantages out of the ſhipwrack of broken *England*, the more inevitably is that Nation owned and deſtin'd to the ſame ruine as *England*; let not dreams infatuate, ſhe muſt expect the ſame line to be ſtretched over her, as *England* has, if ſhe prevent not her fate by ſome ſiſterly aſſiſtance, whileſt it is thus diſtant, ſhe ſhall certainly unpitied periſh at its neerer approach.

But the Queſtion is, Whence did theſe unnaturall broyls ſpring and ariſe; Hath the Kings miſgovernment, or the Nations rebellious diſpoſition, cauſed theſe ſudden diſtempers? has all this diſcord been ſtirr'd principally by Eccleſiaſticall or Civill Perſons? and have their ends been temporall or ſpirituall? How does that commotion which was in *Scotland* differ in cauſe from ours in *England*; or this in *England* from that in *Ireland*? Has it been the ſame deſigne carried on for many yeers together, from whoſe maturity at length all our troubles in all the three Nations have been derived? Or have the *Scots* occaſionally aimed at one thing, the *Iriſh* at another, and the *Engliſh* at another? If the Rebels in *Ireland*, and the Parliament in *England* have purpoſes diametrically oppoſite, how is it that the King proteſts againſt both? how comes it, that he wages a war upon the Parliament, that is as favourable to the *Iriſh*, as deſtructive to the *Engliſh*? And if the *Scots* and the *Engliſh* propoſe the ſame thing, how is it that the *Engliſh* are thus implacably Proſecuted, whileſt the *Scots* are friendly intreated? How is it, that Papiſts are ſo far united, yea, even in *Ireland* where they pretend for the King, contrary to the acknowledgement of our Court, yet all of them move undevided, and in *England*, where they fight for the King, and are accordingly entertained and allowed ſo to do; yet ſtill they are unanimous, whereas Proteſtants hold no perfect correſpondence any where, in *Ireland* they joyn againſt Papiſts, yet favour the Papiſts cauſe in *England*; and in *England* they fight under Popiſh Banners, and by conſequence maintaine the *Romiſh* faith, both in *England* and *Ireland*? And if theſe miſeries have been not meere late accidentall events, but the ſtudied and prepared accompliſhments and productions of divers former yeers, then whether is't more probable, that the Parliament, hath been this long time buſie in plotting againſt the Court, or the Court againſt the Parliament?

To give ſatisfaction to all men in all theſe Queeries, will be difficult; but to give ſatisfaction to all honeſt Proteſtants, and to convince

vince all our moſt ſubtill enemies, be they Proteſtants or Papiſts, will not be impoſſible; and therefore my utmoſt skill ſhall endeavour it. And if this age will not give me credit therein, I am certain the next will; I will commandingly ſay, That it ſhall without diſſent and deniall receive and acknowledge theſe truths which I now deliver.

The ſons of the *Jews* erected Trophyes, and built Monuments of honour for thoſe Prophets which had been ſtoned in the ages before, and yet at the ſame time, perhaps they maliciouſly murdered the true ſucceſſours of the ſame Prophets; ſuch difference is there betwixt the evidence of preſent and paſt truth; nevertheleſſe, I ſhall for the preſent lie the leſſe obnoxious to contradiction or diſtruſt, becauſe I ſhall not ſo much inſiſt upon conjectures or nude averments of my own, as the cenſures of ſtrangers and Papiſts; and the judgements of other Stateſmen, whoſe partiality herein is the leſſe to be ſuſpected.

The great tyranie and uſurpation of *Romane* Prelates, who (to purchaſe to themſelves an Eccleſiaſticall Empire, more large and uncontrolable then any temporall Monarch ever challenged) had perverted Religion and innovated the whole frame of Chriſtianity; began to be diſcovered to many in *England* about 120 yeers ſince: *Henry* the eighth alſo, ſo far as his own Crown was concerned therein, was wiling to countenance the diſcovery; but as for a totall reformation of Religion, or redemption of his Subjects liberty from popiſh thraldome, no ſuch thought ever entred into his breaſt. 'Twas indifferent to him on the ſame day, and in the ſame place, to hang a Papiſt maintaining the Popes ſupremacy, and to burn a Proteſtant denying thoſe corruptions of Religion whereupon that ſupremacy was founded: ſo indigeſted and rude a Chaos of Doctrine was that which he ſought to authoriſe and to daub over with his untempered morter. *Edward* the ſixth, by a more bleſſed illumination, ſet himſelf to pull down the whole fabrick, and to raze the very foundation of Hierarchy; and had it not been a work of more yeers, then it pleaſed God to adde to his life, he ſurely had not left one ſtone upon another. Queen *Mary* ſet her ſelf as entirely to repair the Popes Empire, as her brother did to ruine it; yea, even to the effuſion of much blood, with a more fierce zeal ſhe laboured in it, and had not death overtaken her, and the hand of God otherwiſe croſſed her, perhaps no hopes had been left for a new reſtauration under her ſucceſſor. Queen *Elizabeth*, with as perfect an integrity, as either her brothers was in maintenance of truth, or her ſiſters in maintenance of ſuperſtition, applyed her ſelf and her utmoſt power to reſtore Religion

again

again in full conformity to her brother, and oppoſition to her ſiſter.

Two admirable Counſellors ſhe had, *Cecyll* and *Bacon*, both cordiall and totally addicted to the Proteſtant Religion: the honour of whom leaves her honour unqueſtionable; for as much as to chooſe good inſtruments is the nobleſt teſtimony of goodneſſe: and the influence of Princes upon ſervants, is greater then that of ſervants upon Princes. I have heard that the then Earl of *Pembrooke* being ſollicited by other Court Grandees, to enter into a confederacie with them about ſome alteration in Church and State, he told them plainly, he durſt not venture his manner of *Wilton* in the buſineſſe, unleſſe *Cecyll* and *Bacon* were firſt hanged at the Court gate; and to hang them would be a matter not to be compaſſed, till they with their Rhetorick in *Cheapſide* ſhould avert the Citizens hearts from them, and that he left as a fond conceit. Nevertheleſſe, in cenſure of Queen *Elizabeth*, ſome have ſaid that ſhe ſwept the roome clean, but yet left all the duſt heaped up behind the doore, and did not carry it forth as ſhe ought to have done. Their meaning, I conceive, is, that though ſhe much awed and reſtrained both Prelates and Papiſts, ſo as they durſt not attempt any thing againſt the conſtitution of this State, during her reigne; yet ſhe left them not in ſo deſperate a condition, but that they did recover ſtrength, and reunite again after her death. This cenſure ſeems to me too harſh: for Prelates without the copulation of Papiſts to gender a filthy ſpawne upon them, are not of any conſiderable danger; and Papiſts by her long and proſperous reign, were as much quelled and diſabled, as poſſible they could be. If any duſt was left behind the doore, 'twas becauſe her life-time was not extenſive enough for the carrying it forth; for the reduction of *Ireland* was very late, ſhe ſcarce ſurvived it, and yet to make the *Iriſh* Proteſtants, was of farre more difficultie, and would conſume longer time then to make them Subjects.

The propagation of the true Faith therefore in *Ireland*, was a task which Queen *Elizabeth* was of neceſſity to leave to her ſucceſſors; and 'tis very probable, had they begun where ſhe deſiſted, and not deviated from her reſolution, that Kingdom had long ere this, afforded as many Proteſtants as Subjects; whereas now it denies both: for doubtleſſe Queen *Elizabeth* at her deceaſe, left *Ireland* in better diſpoſition to conform to *England*, then ſhe found *England* in at her ſiſters deceaſe to revolt from *Rome*, and therefore with the ſame induſtry her ſucceſſors might have done the ſame in *Ireland* as ſhe had done in *England*. But alas, no ſuch courſe was taken there; we have reaſon to

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think rather that Popery was cherished and preserved in *Ireland*, to make way for these tragicall divisions, then that there was any designe or undertaking to plant *Protestantisme* in it, for the establishing further union between the Nations: The example of Q. *Elizabeth*, to whom the protection of God was as constant in saving her from the bloody Emissaries of *Rome*, did not work so strongly to animate King *James*: as the Apostasie of *Henry* the *French* King, whom God deserted for his desertion, did serve to intimidate him. The revolt of *Henry* the fourth, who gained the Title of Great by his warlike atchievements, and the horrible conjuration of the Powder Traytors here in *England* made so strong impression upon the soft and mild temper of King *James*; that to temporise a little with *Rome*, for better security of his Person, appeared at that time very seasonable; wherefore to dally with Antichrist a little, letters were written to Cardinall *Perrone*, and answers received about a reconciliation of Religions, and in order thereunto, the rigour of penall Laws was rebated; nay, countenance was shewed to Papists, the grandour of Prelates and pomp of Ceremonies in the Church began to be affected. The neerer also that King *James* his end approached, the more it resembled *Solomons*, and grew tainted with the foule symptomes of a declination; in so much that scarce any but Papists were admitted to govern his Councels, and then the whole Kingdom began to be exposed as a prey, to *Spanish*, *French*, *Italian* pensioners. It was well observed by the Duke of *Roan* that no Prince in *Europe* so much opposed his own interests, both in civill and religious affairs as King *James*; for, doubtlesse the Pope by his agents in all Church matters, was more potent then the King himself; and so was *Gundamore* in matters of State, had not the *French* and *Dutch*, and some other Nations interfered with the Pope and *Spaniard*, and given gold for some part in us rather to save us, then that we should be lost to their enemies; doubtlesse we had been disposed of quickly; our happinesse was, that *France* was liberall enough to buy us from *Spain*, and *Spain* liberall enough to buy us from *France*, &c. though our misery was, that both sides pulled away more from us, then they parted withall from themselves. And now when three Kingdoms are under the subjection of one Prince, who is under the subjection of one lustfull, rash, young Favourite, and that Favourite solely at the devotion of his vitious, opprobrious, mischievous mother, and that mother a meere Votaresse to Rome, utterly forfeited, resigned, and sold to the commands of Jesuites: When our miserable Nations are in this ridiculous, prepostrous posture of

government, who can wonder that a Spaniſh or French Match for our Prince ſhould be deſigned? As great a maſſe of treaſure might have been received with a German Lady, and that with leſſe expence (for the portion of Spaine or France can ſcarſe equall the charge of fetching it) all that can be ſaid is, Piſtols and Patachoons are more valuable than Dollars, in our judgement. Alliance alſo amongſt Princes, if it be of any, it is of dangerous conſequence, it is certain to produce reall enmitie and emulation: but it is uncertain to produce ſo much as a ſhadow of amitie and union, eſpecially amongſt Princes of the Romiſh Religion. If we negotiate concerning a marriage with the Spaniſh *Infanta*, tis neceſſarie that we keep fair intelligence with France, and capitulate ſtrongly with the German Princes: and if we break off with Spaine, and treat with the French Lady, tis neceſſary that we enter into a new confederacie with Spaine, and prepare a Fleet for the Iſle of Rhees. So much weaker than cobwebs are the bonds of matrimony amongſt ambitious Monarchs.

Something alſo may be ſaid againſt the inceſtuous extractions of the Houſe of Auſtria, and the Florentine mixtures of the Houſe of Burbon; whereas the nobilitie, chaſtitie, and beautie of the Germane Dames, hath ever been not onely beyond all exception, but alſo beyond all compariſon. Nothing then but Poperie (unleſſe we will adde alſo the manifold miſchiefs of Poperie) could be aimed at in a Popiſh Alliance by thoſe devilliſh Engineers, which were the inſolent Lords of our Lords, or rather of our Lords, Lords, Lords.

And if we deſire further ſatisfaction therein, let us conſider the ſubſtance of the Popes letter written the 20 of April, 1623. to our Prince in Spaine, and our Princes anſwer thereunto, as they are faithfully tranſlated, and regiſtred by *Du Cheſne* the French Geographer, in his Book, fol. 1162.

The Popes Rhetorick in brief flows thus:

MOſt noble Prince: the former Kings of Britain have been very famous for their devotion to the Popes Chaire, and now though the ſtate of the Engliſh Church be altered, yet the Court is adorned with ſuch morall vertues, as may ſupport our charitie; and the more the glory of your moſt clement Father, and the reſentment of your royall nature (or inclination) delights us, the more ardour there is in us, to open the gates of Heaven to you. We commend your deſigne, which hath directed you to take a journey into Spaine, to allye your ſelf to the Houſe of Auſtria, it elevates us to the hope of extraordinarie advan-

tage;

tage; our open teſtimonie is in this preſent affaire, that you are he which hat the principall care and regard of our Prelacie: for ſince you deſire to take in marriage a daughter of Spaine, we eaſily conjecture that your Progenitours zeal may again revive in your ſoul; and its not credible, that he that loves ſuch alliance ſhould hate the Catholick Religion, or take delight in oppreſſing the holy Seat. Therefore publick interceſſion is made continually by our command, that you may be put into poſſeſſion of that moſt noble heritage, which your Anceſtours have purchaſed for you, to defend the authoritie of the Soveraigne Biſhop, and to combat againſt the monſters of hereſie. The moſt ſacred Kings of England came formerly from England to Rome accompanied with Angels, to honour and do homage to the Prince of the Apoſtles in his Chaire Apoſtolicall: let their actions be as ſo many voices of God, to exhort you to the ſame, and to bring you back again into the lap of the Romane Church. Their ſighs and groanes are unceſſant for your ſalvation, and you cannot give greater conſolation to Chriſtendome, than to put the Prince of the Apoſtles into poſſeſſion of your moſt noble Iſle, holding his authoritie as the defence of your Kingdoms, and as a Divine Oracle. Our great charitie makes us deſire, that you and your royall Father may be enobled with the names of Deliverers and Reſtauratours of the ancient paternall Religion of Britaine: and the care of our charitie in this is no other, than to procure your happineſſe.

The Anſwer in ſhort is thus couched.

MOſt holy Father: I received your Sanctities diſpatch with grand contentment, and with a reſpect beſeeming the pietie and benevolence thereof. I have read the Elogies of my Royall Progenitours, who have expoſed their eſtates and lives for the exaltation of the holy Chaire, (ſet before mine eyes by your Holineſſe for imitation) with pleaſure unexpreſſible, and as juſtly deſerved by them. Neither was their courage againſt the enemies of the Croſſe leſſe, than the thought and care which I have to unite all Chriſtian Princes: nor do I eſteeme it a greater honour to be deſcended of ſo great Princes, than to repreſent them in the zeal of their pietie. The knowledge which I have of my moſt honoured Fathers mind, and the concurrence of his Catholick Majeſtie, to whom the preſent diviſions of Chriſtian Princes is ſo grievous; and the fore-ſight of your Holineſſe, who judged this marriage with the Infanta *of Spaine neceſſary for procuring of publick union, and therefore deſigned it, are great encouragements to me. Wherefore tis moſt certain, I ſhall never be ſo extremely affectionate to any thing in the world, as to ſeek alliance with a Prince that hath the ſame ſenſe of true Religion with my ſelf. I have been alwayes very far from encouraging novelties, or being a partie in any faction againſt the Catholick, Apoſto-*

lick, Romane Religion: but have ſought all occaſions to remove ſuch ſuſpitions from reſting on me. And for the future, ſince we all beleeve in one Jeſus Chriſt, I will ſtraine all my power to have but one Religion and one Faith; and I am reſolved to ſpare nothing in the world, but to ſuffer all manner of diſcommodities, even to the hazard of life and eſtate, for the effecting hereof. It reſts onely, that I thank your Holineſſe for your permiſſim and accord herein; and I pray God to bleſſe you, for the great travaile which your Holineſſe hath ſuſtained in his Church.

If this was Court-diſſimulation, Gods name was too far uſed in it, and the diſſimulation hath extended further than to language; the maine affairs of our Court and Church, for many yeers together, have been conformable to the ſame expreſſions. And if here was plain meaning without diſſimulation, no words of man can more fully and clearly juſtifie Poperie, and proteſt againſt the novelties and hereſies of the Reformed Churches than theſe do. And the Pope, it ſeems, ſuſpected no diſſimulation herein, nor his Councellours, and principall Miniſters, (and yet they are not uſually gulled, or blinded, or out-done in that kind of Craft) and for proof hereof, I will inſtance in Father *John de Monte-Major* of the Societie of *Jeſus*, and I will be very brief herein, and confine my ſelf onely to him. This Jeſuite was a ſubtile Stateſ-man (as we may perceive by his arguments now in print) and in the *Iunto* at Madrid, when the marriage of the *Infanta* with our Prince was upon debate, for anſwer to ſuch difficulties and obiections as ſome other of the *Iunto* had offered to oppoſe the marriage, he divers times inſiſted upon ſuch points as theſe: *Since the Prince is a man ſetled in his manners, and makes great account of our holy Law, it may with ſuffi.ient probabilitie be hoped, that by the good example of the moſt illuſtrious* Infanta, *and all her Attendants, both men and women, and by the holineſſe and doctrine of her Confeſſour, he will be eaſily brought to our holy faith.* fol. 6. a. *And therefore as we have ſeen that the Prince and his Father have kept their agreement made at the Treatie of peace, for the well uſing of Catholicks; and we are informed out of England, that this yeer in the holy week within London, there have been at the Communion* 4000 *Catholicks in the Embaſſadours houſe, and that they have made* 40 *monuments, no body ſpeaking one word to controll them:* fol. 7. a. *Both the Prince and his Father do extremely deſire the friendſhip of his Holineſſe, and of Spaine, which* Henry *the eighth little did care for: and thats the reaſon which moveth the Prince and his Father to procure this marriage, is to eſtabliſh the ſaid friendſhip with the Apoſtolick See, and the Crown of Spaine,* fol. 7. b. *Another principall thing to be obſerved is, that the Prince (as all other Engliſh and French Here-*

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ticks do) beleeve that we are ſaved, keeping the Religion of the Church of Rome. fol. 8. b. *There are ſufficient ſignes ſhewing that the King of England is well affected to our Religion, ſince it appears he with ſuch care and pains endeavours to match his Son with a Spouſe ſo much Catholick, daughter to ſo Catholick Parents, and he being the onely Heir of his Kingdom, againſt the advice of all the Hereticks, and all his Councellours, and all the enemies of this Crown, hath ſent him with great danger of his health and life, &c. All which is a great ſigne, that he being moved with ſome great light from Heaven, deſires to forſake the new Religion he profeſſeth, and to return to the old one profeſſed by his Predeceſſours, for ſo many ages. The Prince gives clear teſtimony to be well affected to our holy Law, ſince he beleeveth, and hath ſpoken it to divers perſons, that thoſe that follow the ſame are ſaved in it, &c. being Grand-child to a Grandmother that died a Martyr.* fol. 9. a. *Thus great hope may be, that the whole Kingdom ſhall be reduced to the Catholick Faith.* fol. 9. b. *It is to be noted how earneſtly this match hath been purſued and treated for, both with his Holineſſe and other perſons, debated in many* Junto's *by moſt learned men.* fol. 10. b. *There ſhall be kept a publick Church in London for the Catholicks, a Biſhop of that Citie, libertie of conſcience, the children ſhall be brought up by their mother (the* Infanta) *till they be fourteen yeers of age, &c.*

Where ſuch great Agents of the Hierarchy have not onely delivered their judgements ſo plainly, but alſo ſet forth the reaſons whereupon their judgements are grounded ſo clearly, I ſhall forbear any further to deliver mine. Theſe things are publick enough in the Spaniſh tongue. But let us ſtay no more upon times ſo long ago elapſed, let us for brevitie ſake omit all diſcourſe concerning the wars in Bohemia, the Palatinate, Rochel, and other Countreys, where our falſe promiſes of ſupplyes and aids, purpoſely (as is thought) deſtroyed the Proteſtant cauſe; let us now lightly paſſe over the former part of theſe laſt twentie yeers, and chiefly fix our diſcourſe upon the alterations and innovations of the latter part thereof. Whileſt the Queen was very young, and the plot of our Hierarchiſts not fully ripe, the Babyloniſh Myſteries were not fit to be revealed: and yet even in thoſe times, the work went on darkly and inſenſibly, and ſome uſe was made of the very looſeneſſe and exceſſe of thoſe times, to help on the perfection thereof.

This violent ſharp maladie, of which we labour ſo diſtreſſedly at this preſent, began to ſeize the vitals of this State, long before its violence appeared, and the venome thereof, as if it were of affinitie with that of the *Tarantula*, whileſt it was in its ſlow growth, cauſed rather fits of jollitie, than pangs of dolour in us. That which is now mur-

ther, rapine, lamentation, was within theſe twentie yeers masking, triumphing, revelling; ſo that he that writes the ſtorie of our overthrow, muſt ſay that we drunk, and danced, and ſported our ſelves to death: ſome mortall and noxious potions may yet be delicate to the palate, and others of medicinall and ſalubrious vertue may offend the taſte verie much: ſo it is with times, ſome abounding in diſſolute merriment, may yet conduce to a Nations overthrow, whileſt others more ſad and uncouth may be helpfull towards a recoverie. Tis not juſt therefore in the enemies of Parliaments, to aſcribe the cauſe of our preſent miſeries to the Parliament, or to exclaim againſt theſe times for being as yet miſerable: neither ought they ſo much to boaſt of that falſe betraying jollitie, which we ſeemed heretofore to enjoy. Tis now about ten yeers ſince a *Nuntio* came over from the Pope, the buſineſſe before was tranſacted by Sir *Toby Mathews*, and ſome other more privie Inſtruments; for we muſt not think that a *Nuntio* was ſent, till his way was before made, and entertainment agreed upon, and that agreement alſo (we muſt needs think) had its preparations, and previous conſiderations: but to limit our diſcourſe to theſe laſt ten yeers, and to give a very brief account of them, from the mouth of ſuch as are not partiall, let us in the firſt place make uſe of that Cenſure and Narrative which hath been lately publiſhed in Print, and is entituled, *The Popes Nuntio*, &c. The Author of that Diſcourſe, was a *Venetian*, and ſeems a man equally ingenuous and obſerving, and becauſe he was a Papiſt, we may not think he did utter any untruth to the diſadvantage of his own religion; and becauſe he was imployed in State matter; at Court, we may gheſſe that what he communicated was for the moſt part of things within his own knowledge and privitie; the piece alſo is faithfully tranſlated out of the Italian and French, and was valued and preferred as a thing not fit for vulgar eyes by great Stateſmen of other Nations; and there are few of our own Nation and Religion that had any ſight into Court affairs, but they know well, much more might have been ſaid, and is likely yet to be diſcovered. However by the light of that Pamphlet, we ſhall be informed, that the word Popery is of various ambiguous ſignification; ſo that he which abjures the Romiſh Religion, may yet like well of a reconciliation with *Rome*. And Reconciliation in the next place, is a thing that may admit of ſuch and ſuch degrees and ſteps both of one ſide and the other, and ſuch fraud may be uſed in a Treaty of reconciliation, that one ſide may condeſcend to more then is intended, and the other

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gaine more then is pretended; and in all theſe points, our *Venetian*, if he be rightly and throughly underſtood, will ſatisfie our doubts, and clear our ambiguities; I ſhall deſire therefore all impartiall diſingaged men, to review our *Venetians* diſcourſe with me, and to give me leave to deſcant thereupon a little, whileſt I fetch my conſiderations no higher nor further than the method and guidance of that Pamphlet directs me: our *Venetian* tels us, that King *Charles* once was heard to ſay, that He could at that time reconcile himſelf to the Church of *Rome* with much advantage: for our better information therein, and that we may neither miſtake the Kings intention, nor conceal our own danger, let us make uſe of our *Venetians* diſcourſe in theſe five particulars:

1 Let us from hence learn to underſtand what the reconciliation was; and how far each ſide ſhould comply and ſubmit according to the capitulation.

2 Who were the parties to be reconciled.

3 What were the expedients and means of effecting or ſpeeding this reconciliation.

4 What that profit and great advantage was, which the King promiſed to himſelf by this reconciliation.

5 What the difficulties and obſtacles were which did retard this reconciliation.

1 We ſhall do well, firſt to take into our conſideration the articles and capitulation betwixt both parties, whereby it was agreed how far the Papiſts ſhould meet the Proteſtants, and how far the Proteſtants ſhould advance towards the Papiſts; the Pope was to move towards us but very ſlowly, in a pace exceeding majeſticall; his Holineſſe was pleaſed, not without much difficulty to diſpence with foure things: Firſt, that marriage might be permitted to Prieſts: Secondly, that the oath of Allegeance and Supremacie, ſo far as it concerned the Kings temporall power, with ſome mild interpretations or alterations might be tolerated for his Majeſties ſecuritie: Thirdly, that the Communion might be adminiſtred *ſub utraque ſpecie*: Fourthly, that the Lyturgie might be officiated in the Engliſh tongue. Theſe two laſt Articles were for the ſatisfaction of the people. Twas the great zeal of *Canterbury* to capitulate for theſe things, to make the entrance of Popery the more ſmooth at firſt; and this was about the latter end of *Auguſt*, or the beginning of *September*, 1636. during the reſidence of Seignior *Con*; and though our *Venetian* help us not herein, yet this is known ſufficiently, and can be averred

averred otherwiſe; nevertheleſſe, we may probably conjecture, that what did concern the King herein, ſhould have been really performed, ſo far forth as other Catholick Princes uſually injoy, and expect as their due; and ſo far as the Biſhops were to be independent both from King and Pope (which was the maine ſcope and purpoſe of the agreement, though not mentioned at all in the Articles) there was no fear of breach on the Popes part, but ſo far as the inferiour Clergie, and the people were concerned, the after performance (it is to be ſuſpected) was to be left to the Popes diſcretion, the conditions being onely of temporall advantage, rather fit to induce than to confirm Popery. This ſeems the more likely to be true, becauſe of the great facilitie which was in our Divines to comply with the Papiſts of their own accord without any allurements, or ſollicitation at all; the Papiſts were not ſo backward in walking towards *Calvin*, as the Proteſtants were haſty in running towards the Pope; for even before any Treaty at all, or before any Nuntio ſent from *Rome*, we had condeſcended to many popiſh innovations, and alterations, both in doctrine and diſcipline; and twas at our intreaty, that any Nuntio was diſpatched at all. It is not worth while to reckon up here, what novelties had been patronized, and by whom, how far *Sparrow* had paved the way for Auricular Confeſſion, *Watts* for Penance, *Heylin* for Altar-worſhip, *Mountague* for Saint-worſhip, *Laud* for the Maſſe, and many others; it is not worth while to recite, how far the ſanctity of the Sabbath was depraved, and all ſtrictneſſe of life under the ſcandall of Puritaniſme diſparaged, or how farre Arminianiſme, Socinianiſme, Atheiſme it ſelf was countenanced, the eaſier to deboſh the Clergie, and people, and to prepare them for alterations of any kind, it having been obſerved; *that to ſome men irreligion it ſelf ſeemed leſſe offenſive than the Popiſh religion: our Venetians own words are; The Vniverſities, Biſhops and Divines of this Realme, do daily imbrace Catholick opinions, though they profeſſe it not with open mouth, for fear of the Puritanes: for example, they hold that the Church of Rome is a true Church; that the Pope is ſuperiour to all Biſhops; that to him it appertains to call generall Councels; that it is lawfull to pray for the ſouls departed; that Altars ought to be erected; in ſumme, they beleeve all that is taught by the Church, but not by the Court of Rome.* In another place he reports *the King to be much a favourer of Confeſſion, and ſaies, that by his countenance, Catholicks did increaſe daily.*

At the Councell of *Trent* all matters concerning the Court of *Rome*, which are of themſelves but diſputable, were determined and enjoyned

enjoyned as points of faith to be believed upon ſtrict paine of damnation; but matters of faith indeed, concerning the Church of *Rome*, were left diſputable, and no *Anathema* annexed to them. Now the Court of *England* having contrary intereſts in this reſpect, was not ſo farre Popiſh, and therefore *Canterbury* himſelf would ever profeſſe againſt theſe *Tridentine* Papiſts, whom onely he hated as Papiſts properly ſo called. Nevertheleſſe, we muſt not conceive that the *Engliſh* Laytie had been in a condition any whit better or gentler, becauſe the King and the Clergie here were ſo ſtiffe againſt the Court of *Rome*; for what the King and our great Primate did deny to the Pope, it was intended to be reſerved in the ſame rigor to themſelves. The Papiſt properly ſo called in *Canterburies* ſenſe ſo much to be abominated, was he which maintained a ſupremacy of the Pope here in *England* altogether incompatible with the oath of Allegeance, and not agreeing with the Archbiſhops Metropoliticall power. Without any Treaty, without any difficulty at all, all Popery which was not Popery properly ſo called; that is, all Popery ſo far as the people and inferior Clergie were intereſſed in it, ſo it did not ſavour of the Court of *Rome*; nay, let it ſavour of the Court of *Rome*, ſo it did not derogate any thing from the King *in temporalibus*, or the Archbiſhops independecy *in ſpiritualibus*; ſo far it was acceptable to the Prelates, and they would be aſſiſting to recommend, or inforce it on all others. This was the ſumme of our reconciliation with *Rome*.

2 Secondly, I come now to the two parties which were to be reconciled; and they were the Proteſtants and Papiſts, divided hitherto by the Puritanes: our *Venetian* reſolves not onely who are, but alſo what are Proteſtants and Puritanes both; and as for the Papiſts, the third great faction, they need no deſcription at all: if we deſire to know who are Proteſtants, our *Venetian* tels us, *They conſiſt of the King, the Nobles Titular, that is, the Court Lords, and Gentlemen, or ſuch of the Peerage and Gentry, as are enobled and raiſed to more than ordinary favours, and honors, beſides almoſt all the Prelates, and both the Vniverſities: If we deſire to know what it is that denominates them Proteſtants, tis intimated in this that they hate Puritanes more than they hate Papiſts, that they eaſily combine with Papiſts to extirpate Puritanes, that they are ſuch as have not ſo ingaged themſelves to the Reformed Religion, but that they have ſince ſet themſelves to reduce themſelves again to the old practiſe of their forefathers: that they are onely very opinative in ex-*

cluding the Popes ſupremacy, and by this means have occaſioned the Catholicks, which frequented Proteſtant Churches for 12 yeers after the Reformation to ſequeſter themſelves. If we deſire to know who are Puritanes, *He tels us, they conſiſt of ſome Biſhops, all the Gentry and Communalty, and therefore are the moſt potent of all the three parties:* If we deſire to know what Puritanes are, and what is intended in that denomination; he tels us, *They are ſuch as received the deſcipline of the French and Netherlanders, and hold not the Engliſh Reformation to be ſo perfect, as that which Calvin inſtituted at Geneva: That they hate Catholicks more than they hate Proteſtants, that they would be eaſily quieted were it not for ſome great Patrons of theirs at Court, who for private ends take them into Protection.*

If this be a true account given (as it ſeems to me beyond all doubt) the greateſt part of the Gentry and Communalty of *England*, under the odious terme of Puritanes is to be oppreſſed, and deſtroyed, meerly becauſe they honour *Calvin*, and are averſe from the Pope. The name of Proteſtant alſo is to be appropriated to the King, the Nobilitie, the Prelates, and Univerſities, meerly becauſe they hate the Gentry and Commonalty, or the Generality thereof more then they hate Papiſts: and laſtly, the Papiſt and the Proteſtant that they may be more fully incorporated, both of them ſhall be gratified, and their Union ſolemnized, as it were with the ruin of the third and moſt Potent party of the Kingdom.

This was that great and godly work which was ſo magnified by Doctor *Heylin* and other Court Chaplaines of late; this was that rare bloody machination which his Grace of *Canterbury* and the other Grandees of our Church recommended to us, as the pious inclination of the times, and as a more beautifull reſtoration of the Goſpel, then that which *Luther* and *Calvin* laboured to advance. *Rome* had not ſuch pregnant hopes of regaining *England* fifty yeers ago: for then (as a great Romaniſt complained) oppoſition was made, not onely by a puritan-City, and a puritan-Parliament, but a puritan-Queen alſo. It ſhould ſeem the City of *London* was puritanicall from the beginning, and ſo was the Parliament; in which two is compriſed all that is noble and worthy in the Kingdom of *England*: but who would imagine that ſo inconſiderable a party as the Papiſts and ſemi-Papiſts were in Queen *Elizabeths* dayes, ſhould dare to aſperſe, not onely the whole Kingdome, but even the Queen her ſelfe? and who can wonder, if in theſe times, London and the Parliamens have new brands of diſgrace,

disgrace, worse then that of Puritan fixed upon them, (the King himselfe now appearing against them) if they could not go unbranded when that unparalleld Lady professed with them? yet we cannot ascribe this so much to the policy of the Clergy, as the blockishnesse of the Laity, that the Hierarchy prevailes so far: for if whole Cities, whole Parliaments, whole Nations, are to be conquered with the meer calumnious words of Puritane, Roundhead, Anabaptist, &c. Who is able to stand before them? can it be imagined that the same faction should forbeare to call us Roundheads which upbraided Queen *Elizabeth* as a Puritane, especially, when by their comming upon the King they have gotten that advantage now? Which then they had no hopes to get, nor can it be imagined that that party will fall from its preferment and hopes, rather then satisfie so sottish a generation, it will take the paines to invent one reviling terme of scurrility? surely the world for these many ages have had better experience both of the malice and subtilty of Rome.

3. Thirdly, the meanes for the effecting of this reconciliation, and for the sure transacting and close carrying of it on, are now to be considered. The King it should seem thought that without all scandall hee might receive an Ambassadour from the Pope, as well as from other Catholick Princes, and upon the proposition of the same by *Panzani* himselfe to the Queen, and to some others of power about the King by *Panzani's* friend; the thing seemed very reasonable, so that the Nuntio to be sent over were no Priest: howsoever for more privacies sake, it was ordered, that the Nuntio should addresse himselfe to the Queen, and not to the King immediately; and that the pretended businesse of his addresse should be to mediate a reconciliation betwixt the Regulars and Seculars in England. This would better blind the jealous Puritanes, and make the true intent of the negotiation the more involved: and the case of Dr. *Smith* the Bishop of *Chalcedon* expelled by the persecution of the Jesuites, for claiming jurisdiction as universall ordinary in *England*, served well at this time for a specious colour. Reason of state none could be alledged for any intercourse between England and Rome, therefore the Church affaires must be the subject of our Embassie, the Jesuites and the Seculars were imbroyled in some contestation, and was for the benefit of Rome to appease the heat of it. Without all

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doubt the Romiſh Councell *De propaganda fide* would not entertaine agents from us to ſettle union betweene Calvaniſts and Lutherans, or betweene Remonſtrants and Contra-Remonſtrants: but we that have no ſuch councell nor no ſuch deſigne, inſtead of nouriſhing enmity amongſt our adverſaries, allay it, and inſtead of allaying enmity amongſt friends, nouriſh it. Nothing can more cleerely ſhew, that the Court of England ſtands not diſaffected to the proſperity of Rome, then this endeavour of making attonement betwixt the oppoſite Champions of that Religion, and this was but the ſhell of the deſigne, the kernell had more miſchiefe in it: for we may underſtand by our *Venetian*, that *Panzani* out of his great circumſpection and fineneſſe, having matured the buſineſſe of generall reconciliation, ſo well for the further covering of his true deſigne, he did apply himſelfe after, to his pretended negotiation. And therfore upon the 22. of *November* 2635. almoſt a yeare after his arrivall here procured ſome accord betwixt the Seculars and Regulars, though the Jeſuites would not come in. The truth is, the Jeſuites were then the principall body of the Regulars, governing them (as they doe ſtill alſo) the beſt families of *England*, nay the very Court it ſelfe, and ſo they not ſubmitting to the accord, it was but nugatory, and a meere umbrage to all the world, except the phlegmaticall dull Engliſh. Nay it is ſufficiently proved by our *Venetian*, *that all pacification betwixt the Ieſuites and Regulars is impoſſible, whereupon if* Con *comply with the Ieſuites, it is the ſame thing as if he did abandon the Seculars, and it is to be doubted that the buſineſſe of Religion will be rather hindred then promoted there'y*. And what greater inſtance need we of the Jeſuites predominance in *England* then this, that notwithſtanding the diſtaſt of *Canterbury* and his deare, confident *Chicheſter*, they can expell the Popes ordinary here, nay, and without all regard to the Colledge of *Sorbona*, and to the Popes own intereſt, they dare inveigh not only againſt the perſon of ſome, but againſt the function of all Biſhops? Wherefore the accommodation betwixt Seculars and Regulars, being ſo uſeleſſe to Proteſtants, and ſo hopeleſſe to Papiſts; we muſt not doubt but ſome deſigne of more conſequence was obſcured under that pretext, for when we heare that the Pope and Cardinall *Barbarini* diſpatched ſo many perſons, of ſuch quality hither, and that the King ſtood bare at their audience, and manifeſted ſo much grace in their reception,

ception, and that the Queen and all the great Lords and Ladies, with extraordinary preſent, and frequent viſits, both given and taken, ſtudied to doe ſuch honour to them, the matter in hand cannot ſeem ordinary. 'Tis true, the Archbiſhop would not perſonally treat with the *Panzani*; *Windebanke* his creature was to intervene therein, neither could *Panzani* treat with the Archbiſhop, but by *Franſciſ. a Sancta Clara* his friend on the other ſide, but this was meerly for ſecrecies ſake; for we know well what factions ſoever were in our Court, *Panzani was not unacceptable to any, by the meanes of* Windebank *he obtained Grace with* Canterburies *party, and by the meanes of* Cottington *he held correſpondency with that party which was adverſe.* *Panzani* though not addicted to the Regulars, yet wanted no acceptance amongſt the *Cottingtonians*, and *Con* though in grace with the Jeſuites, yet loſt no eſteem with the *Canterburians*. All ſides conſpire to undoe Puritanes, as if our Saviour were againe to be crucified; *Herod* in this buſineſſe can lay aſide all emulations and variance with *Pilate*, aud *Pilate* can as peaceably ſhake hands with *Herod*. It may be juſtly ſurmiſed alſo, that when there was ſo amicable and generall a concurrence betwixt *Canterbury*, *Chicheſter* and the other eight Biſhops, (amongſt whom we may boldly nominate *Gloceſter*) as alſo *Portland*, *Cottington*, *Windebanke* and ſo many other Lay Grandees cooperating in this zealous work of Reconciliation, the order of the Jeſuites was not in truth ſo odious to the *Canterburians* as was pretended openly at other times.

4. We are now to conſider the advantage, which was the main motive or allurement to invite the King to this Reconciliation. That cup of fornication which the *Circe* of *Rome*, (as the Scripture deſcribes it) mingles and prepares for the Kings of the earth, muſt needs be very delicious to the ſenſe, aſwell as it is pernicious to the underſtanding; it muſt needs pleaſe, as well as intoxicate, or elſe why ſhould the great Potentates of the world be more apt to yeild to the infatuation of it than common perſons? That it does inebriate or deboſh the underſtanding, muſt be conſented to by all that conſent to the truth of Scripture, and that there is a purpoſe of miſchiefe in that ſtrumpet, whoſe intoxications are ſo ſtrong to captivate, and delude, cannot be doubted; the maine knot and difficulty is, what the ingredients are, which render the Compoſition ſo ravaſhing and ſweet to the palate of Princes. Our *Venetian*

conceives, *That the allurement or advantage is ſomething temporall, and not religious, for in his cenſure, great Princes and Polititians in their ſtates make no account of Religion, though in ſhew they alwayes indeavour to appeare extreamely zealous, and ſeverely inflict exemplary puniſhment upon all ſuch as temerate the purity of it, ſome men, he admits, may imbrace Religion in ſincerity, as it leads to true happineſſe, but it is hard for him to imagine that mighty Monarchs, and their neareſt privados ſhould honour it it at all, but for its ſecular commodities as it inclines the people to ſubjection, and preſerves States from commotion.* Neither muſt we cenſure this cenſure, as utterly cauſleſſe and injurious, for Paganiſme, Mahometaniſme, Judaiſme, Papiſme, Socinianiſme, divide all the world amongſt them, except one ſmall inconſiderable remainder, and divide that remainder into ten parts, and ſcarce one of thoſe ten is indued with that true power and tincture of Religion, which Scripture names regeneration; & if we yet make another ſubdiviſion, the mighty, the politick, the honourable of this world will ſcarce make up the ten of that tenth part. The maine bulke of mankind, either makes no profeſſion at all to regard Religion, or elſe profeſſeth a regard meerly for the temporall conveniences which attend Religion, or elſe falſely and hypocritically, reſt in the meer ſhadow or externall formalites of it. Our King hath been alwayes bred up in the Proteſtant Religion, and with deep vowes hath expreſt often his ſincere adherence to it, though our *Venetian* therefore being a Papiſt, cenſured according to the principles of a Papiſt; for my part I ſhall nevertheleſſe have none but charitable thoughts of our Kings hearty eſteem of Religion in generall, and of the Proteſtant Religion in particular. 'Tis not credible to me, that all Religions ſhould be indifferent, or of the like efficacy in the eſteem of our King, or that the Romiſh Religion ſhould ſeem ſpiritually more efficacious to him, than Proteſtantiſme, ſome advantages (I conceive) of a ſecular politicall nature might have the force to diſpoſe his heart to a reconciliation with *Rome*, but *I* am moſt confident, that no ſpirituall advantage was aymed at therein. For if the advantage had been celeſtiall, and ſuch as did appertaine immediately to the ſoule, then all times had bin alike opportune for reconciliation with the Church of *Rome*; nay the firſt opportunity was moſt to be imbraced; but in this ſpeech of the Kings cited by our *Venetian*, a fitneſſe of ſeaſon ſeems to be implyed for the inviting to a preſent reconciliation.

There

There is no doubt then remaining, nor nothing fit for our inquiry but what temporall advantage it was, which the King expected and promiſed to himſelfe, and what kind of reconciliation it was which he thought fit to conclude with *Rome*. As for the reconciliation that hath been already ſpoken to, and as it is uncertain what the King intended in his own breaſt, and how far he reſolved to comply with the Pope, ſo it is moſt certain, that the Biſhop and thoſe Counſellors of his, which were moſt intimate with him, and moſt active in the negotiation with *Panzani*, &c. intended a totall alteration of Religion, and that hee was groſſely abuſed and deceived by them, if he himſelfe intended otherwiſe. This hath been made ſufficiently manifeſt; I am now to make it as manifeſt, if I can, that even in thoſe temporall advantages alſo, whereby the King was ſolicited, and incited to deſcend to any agreement at all with the Pope in any degree whatſoever, hee was as groſſely abuſed and deceived alſo. The ſacerdotall Empire of *Rome*, though it be founded upon nothing elſe but meer deluſions and incantations (as the holy Spirit of God himſelfe perpetually inculcates to us) yet to fleſh & blood thoſe deluſions and incantations are ſo powerfull, that we may truly ſay it is a Throne very cunningly erected, and as firmely under-propped. The Romiſh Potion at firſt had only ſpirituall ingredients in it, the Biſhops were compelled to act ſanctity even almoſt to the life, before Princes would ſubject themſelves, and at that time nothing but heaven was the allurement to diſpoſe Monarchs to ſuch ſubjection. Nevertheleſſe though we may wonder that innocent, well affected Kings and Emperors ſhould be ſo blinded with abundance of zeale, as to think that they could not ſufficiently glorifie God with their royalty, unleſſe they diſrobed themſelves of ſome part of it, to communicate the ſame to Prieſts, who muſt needs grow the more temporall, and not the more ſpirituall thereby; yet that error was more excuſable then ours is in theſe latter times. Princes now adayes (except ſome very few that are exceeding weake in their intellectuals) doe not ſuffer themſelves to be dementated and made drunk with any conceits of the Popes holineſſe, if the Pope did not further ſweeten his cup with promiſes of grandour and ſafety, and other temporall additions, would ſcarce relliſh in theſe depraved, yet quick-ſighted times.

Can any man imagine that *Hen.* 4. in *France* did totally, or King

James

James in *England* partially comply with *Rome* for conſcience ſake? no, tis impoſſible that ſuch fine ſpirits and firm intellects, ſhould be ſo farre transformed by any Circean compound drink whatſoever; doubtleſſe that which drew them in, to carouſe was ſomething proper, and peculiarly qualified for their relliſh, and in probability it was reſpect of ſafety and ſecurity, rather then addition of power and ſupremacy. That power which Princes firſt parted with to the Pope, for religious reaſons, inabled him to frame a great party of Clergy-men, and Regular Orders, and to win to himſelf all that were eminent for learning, policy, and reputed piety; and being thus inabled, ſuch Princes as were not to be beguiled by his pretences, he after oppreſſed by treachery. Wherefore now ſome Princes ſtoop to him for fear of damage, *ut non noceat*, others for hope of benefit *ut proſit*, and though his Empire be now in a great declination, and the world begins both to fortifie themſelves againſt his powder, poyſon and poynards on the one ſide; and to diſcover the falſity of his promiſes on the other ſide; yet ſtill his induſtry never fails him. Howſoever thoſe Princes which ſubmit to the Pope for fear, are more worthy of blame, than thoſe which ſubmit for gain; for ſcarce ever did God leave any juſt Prince to the cruelty of the Popes Emiſſaries nor ſcarce ever was it known, that they came to timely ends, which ſuccumbed to the Pope out of fear, as *Hen.* the 4 did, and as King *James* may be ſuſpected to have done. But tis advantage that is the Popes main bait, eſpecially where Princes value Religion *for the generall profit which redounds from it, to humane ſociety, than for any other excellence diſcerned in it*; as our *Venetian* obſerves. And yet the miſery and miſchief reſts not here, for as our great Potentates are not religious enough to addict themſelves to divine worſhip, without reſpect of ſecular ends, ſo neither are they wiſe enough to pierce into the realty and truth of thoſe ends. To ſerve the Pope does not ſo really advance the Prerogative of Princes, as to remain under Gods allegiance, yet the Pope gains that obedience by empty promiſes, which God cannot receive by full aſſurances.

Amongſt other Princes; it ſeems (at leaſt probable out of this diſcourſe of our *Venetian*) King *Charles* hath inclined his eare in ſomepart, to the deluſory bewitching allurements of *Rome* in this point of temporall advantage, for though Popery under the groſſe

groſſe notion of Popery, (I beleeve) was never approved of by our King, yet under the maſque of qualifying, and dulcifying diſtinctions, it is to be feared it found ſome acceptance, as being a profeſſion more diſpoſing Subjects to ſecurity, and blind obedience, then Proteſtantiſme.

This is the Popes ſole fortreſſe, upon this impregnable rock is his throne planted, it is not ſo much his pretended predeceſſour *Peters* confeſſion, as this deluſion that he builds upon, ſo that now the gates of Hell are not formidable to him. So long as Princes covet to be abſolute, and ſo long as Popery is believed to favour abſolute dominion, ſo long the See of *Rome* thinks it ſelf ſecure, againſt all mines and batteries whatſoever. Nevertheleſſe, it is the dull folly of Princes to expect temporall advantages from *Rome*, or to ſuppoſe the Reformed Religion is more adverſe to Monarchy, then the Popiſh. Our *Venetian* tels us, *that the intentions both of the Court of Rome, and the Court of England, are contrary, and that in Secular things eſpecially, for* (ſaith he) *it is not ſo much for the extirpation of other hereſies, as for the eſtabliſhing his own Supremacy, that the Pope ſtrives in purſuance of his old pretences, and whereas on the contrary, the Court of England aimes not at any alteration in faith, ſo much as the toleration of the oath of Supremacie, this the Pope knows to be contrary to his Maximes, and inconſiſtent with his temporall grandour, and therefore no accord* can be poſſible betwixt them upon theſe terms: wherefore our great negotiators which were to treat with *Panzani*, *Con*, and *Roſetti*, what did they elſe, but abuſe the King, propoſing to him ſuch temporall advantages, as they well knew were uncompaſſable? and contracting with another party who might gain much, but was certain to loſe nothing. But ſome will ſay, are not the Princes of *Spaine*, *France*, *Germany*, &c. more unlimited in their power over their Subjects then the Princes of *England*, *Denmarke*, *Holland*, *&c.* And is not this a good demonſtration that the Catholick Religion favours royalty more then the Proteſtants? I anſwer no; for this proves that Subjects are more miſerable, but not that Princes are more abſolute amongſt the Papiſts, for as much as where the Pope prevails, there is a Co-domination and rivalty in rule, and this Proteſtant Princes are freed from.

Neither is this Co-dominion ſo light a thing as ſome men think, for the Popes yoke is a hard yoke, and the Popes burthen is a heavie burthen, he is Antichriſt in this, as in all other things, that is, contrary to Chriſt.

A late Venetian Embaſſador being in diſcourſe here at his own table, about entertaining of the Popes Nuntios, expoſtulated openly in this manner; *What wonder is this that the King being freed from Rome, ſhould be ſo inclinable to ſubject his neck to the yoke again? Could we at Venice once fully acquit our ſelves of this bondage, we ſhould be ſufficiently carefull and reſolved to keep our ſelves for ever free.* And this ſpeech was the more remarkable, in regard that the *Venetians* better know what the Popes claimes are *in ſpiritualibus*, and *in ordine ad ſpiritualia*, then our Engliſh do; and yet though of all Catholicks they are the wiſeſt, and have beſt rampired themſelves againſt the exceſſe of the Popes juriſdiction; yet we ſee there is ſtill ſomething remaining in the ſpirituall yoke, that grieves their necks, and draws ſome regret from them, the ſecret of all is but this, (for to the Great Lords of the earth, it remains ſtill a ſecret and unfathomable, though to true Proteſtants it be a plain ordinary naked truth) Popery as it doth more countenance and uphold cruell tyranny in Princes, ſo it doth alſo more foment diſſention, and rebellion in Subjects then the reformed Religion.

And there is no contradiction at all in this (none but half witted men will think ſo) for whileſt Princes will allow the Pope more then is his due, he will inſiſt in any oppreſſion whatſoever, but let any thing be denied to him, and then he preſently looſneth the bonds of allegiance, making Subjects as unjuſt ſcourges to their Lords, as he had made the Lords before to their Subjects, what Countreys do not abound with ſtories of this kind? it would be meere loſſe of time to ſet forth what ſeas of blood have been ſhed in *Europe*, by unnaturall civill broils, raiſed betwixt Subjects and their Lords in the Popes quarrels meerly, I ſhall deſire all true Engliſh men to read Mr. *Prinnes* late treatiſes, concerning this ſubject, and to compare them with hiſtories of other countreys. The Popes promiſes to Kings, are like the tempters to our Saviour, all theſe royalties and glories will I beſtow upon you, but with this proviſo, that you then proſtrate your ſelves to ſerve me, but what is that ſervice which he requires? that they may endure a baſer vaſſallage under him then their Subjects do under them.

On the contrary the Proteſtant Religion ſeaſons us, with ſuch unſtained loyalty, that Princes do preſume thereupon, and fear the leſſe to grieve, and provoke us, as by *Contzens* the Jeſuites advertiſements, and the practiſe of divers Princes in *Europe* of late

is

is teſtified too clearly: well may we wonder then at the frontleſſe impudence of ſuch Papiſts as upbraid Proteſtants with diſobedience to Magiſtracy, eſpecially when they charge it as a ſin reſulting, and iſſuing out of the Proteſtant principles, themſelves. What doth *Barclay* imagine of his readers ſtupidity, when in his book *contra Monarchomachos*, he inveighes againſt his countreyman *Buchanan*, as injurious to Royalty, and imputes this, as an effect, or product of the Proteſtant Religion?

His Religion was ever infamous for excommunicating, murthering, depoſing Princes, and imbruing Nations in unnaturall, treaſonable, execrable wars; whereas the Proteſtant Religion equally abhors both cruelty in Princes, and diſloyalty in Subjects, aiming at nothing but that Kingly Prerogative and popular liberty, may be even ballanced; and yet this foule railer, here inverts nature, calling white black, and black white.

The King of *England* hath ſome Subjects wherein none hath an intereſt, but himſelf, and he hath other Subjects wherein the Pope hath an intereſt as well as himſelf: the firſt are Engliſh, the ſecond are Iriſh, in whether Nations loyalty he may rather confide I cannot tell, (for at this preſent he bends himſelf with more violence againſt the Engliſh, then Iriſh) but the end will reveal to the confuſion of his malignant ſeducers, that there was nothing but fidelity in Engliſh Proteſtants, nor nothing but perfidie in Iriſh Papiſts: I ſhall uſe no other inſtances. If there be any curſe impendent over this Nation, both King and people, it is this, that this truth is not yet ſufficiently credited and acknowledged.

But to our preſent negotiation again, it ſeemed to our *Venetian*, *that the King aimed at ſuch a diſpenſation from the Pope, as that his Catholick Subjects might reſort to our Proteſtant Churches, and take the oath of Supremacy, and fidelity, and that the Popes juriſdiction here ſhould be declared, to be but of humane right*, &c. But what needed the King to ſeek theſe things from the Pope? or what hope was there to obtain them at all? and if they were to be obtained, but not without the loſſe of other things, ten times more precious, and profitable to the King, what advantage was in them?

We cannot apprehend that the King ſhould expect any good from *Rome* of himſelf, ſome ſtrong inchanting ſolicitation there muſt be, to induce him, and that by ſuch, as aimed not at his, but their own intereſts. And this our *Venetian* layes open and makes

clear enough, for he tels us *that the Court of* Rome *treated according to its own maxime, and in pursuance of its old pretences.* The Popes end was temporall grandour, and what could all the Popes vassals, here more expect then his advancement? but the Pope and his party, were but Treaters of one side, the question is, who were Treaters on the other side, and what it was, which they were to treat for. This question is without question, for the Merchants of our side, were our Prelates, *some whereof being single, were to be made Cardinals, and others were to receive pensions from Rome,* as our *Venetian* tels us. The Protestant Religion doth not so much affect the outward opulence, pomp, and splendour, of the Church, (that is of Clergy men) as the Popish doth, and therefore the main body of the Clergy, and the Universities have been long conspiring to alter Religion, at least in that point, and rather then fail in that, they care not how they debosh the Church inducing an hotchpodge (as Mr. *Cheynell* has well observed of Arminianisme, Popery, Socinianisme, any thing rather then a plain Gospel. If *Canterbury* may not be allowed to be *Alterius Orbis Papa,* as some of his predecessours were called, and as able to give check to the Crown of *England,* and if Scholars generally may not insult and lord it in Church and State, as the use was amongst our ignorant forefathers, they will make a league with *Rome,* nay with hell it self, rather then endure it. *The Religion of Scotland is a nasty invention, the discipline of Geneva is a profaine confusion, the City of London is a nest of Anabaptists, the Parliament a croud of Roundheads: All Protestants that are not for beautified Altars, gilt Organs, cliniquant copes, are worse Christians then the Romish Catholicks:* howsoever the true Protestant desires not to see the Clergy despicable, or the house of God to be without bread, or order confounded in the Church, these are scandals invented to make all men odious that are not addicted to the Popish gaity and tyranny of Priests. That Reformation which the Parliament aimes at wil avoid all unjustice and extreames, and if the Clergy stand not in their own light, Religion will flourish, and the Church prosper better then they have done hitherto: for the Vine which is the most naturall resemblance of the Church that can be, proves equally unfertile by luxuriance, when her branches for want of pruning spread abroad too wildly, as it does by indurance when she bleeds too prodigally under the dressers knife, And this cannot be unknown to the Parliament.

5 We come now to view the true obstacles and impeachments

of

of this Reconciliation, one hindrance was Sr. *Toby Mathews* his ambition, who thinking his imployment leſſned, and his perſon cheapned by the coming over of ſeig. *Panzani*, and not finding ſuch compliance from *Panzani*, as he expected, openly expreſſed himſelf an adverſary to his undertakings: the great ſtomack alſo of the Jeſuites, who before had the ſway at Court; did not well brook a lay Legate here in England, and if the Reconciliation thrived, they did perhaps fear that the Engliſh Nation might rather incline to favour the ſeculars then themſelves. Then the Pope doubtleſſe (with reverence be it ſpoken to his infallibility) was a little too majeſticall at firſt in his moving towards us, he ſaw us ſo precipitate in our pace towards him, that he thought he himſelf might ſafely ſtand upon rigorous punctilio's. The King required from the Pope onely ſuch naturall allegiance of his ſubjects as other Catholick Princes uſe to have paid them, without further diſtinguiſhing, and yet his holineſſe did conceive it was too much to tolerate this oath for the aſſurance of that. His holineſſe thought it rather fit that the very words formerly conceived and enacted by the States of the whole Kingdom, ſhould be preſently expunged or altered: and though the King was contented to qualifie and correct the letter of the law, by a milder declaration, and interpretation, yet even that was not held ſatisfaction enough.

In the next place alſo our Prelates were contented to allow the Pope a priority above all Biſhops, but a ſuperiority ſeemed more then due, eſpecially in *England* the Arch *Biſhop* was reſolved to be the ſupream Ordinary himſelf, and yet his holineſſe did not think it agreeable to his Viee-Godſhip to admit of that honour as due to the Arch-Biſhop. The diſpute was not whether the Arch-Biſhop ſhould execute that office in his own name and right, or by allowance and deputation from the Pope, nor was there any clauſe of *ſalvo jure* to either of them, as yet thought on: theſe were tender points not to be inſiſted on too roughly, at ſuch a time as this, when both ſides were ſo farre reſolved of a reconciliation before hand. There muſt be a more mild and eaſie way of compoſing things then ſo: for as the Pope had rather we ſhould remain Proteſtants, and ſo deſperate of ſalvation, then that his ſupremacy ſhould be too far impeached; ſo *Canterbury* had rather we ſhould not turn Papiſts then that his Primacie ſhould be too far diſabled. The bargain therefore at firſt unqualified was thus. The Pope demanded to have a Legate

in *England* that ſhould be a Biſhop, and not favour the oath of Allegiance; on the other ſide the King here would have the oath of Allegiance favoured, and the Biſhops thought it needleſſe, for the Pope to have any other agents, or deputies here beſides themſelves. This difference could hardly be compoſed all the time of Seig. *Panzani*, but at laſt the Biſhops durſt not wholly neglect the Kings intereſt, and ſo the oath of Allegiance was included in the bargain, and the King would not oppoſe the Biſhops intereſt, and ſo a lay Legate was agreed upon, and it was for the Popes honour that a Legate ſhould be for the ſaving of his authority, and therefore becauſe the Pope could not withſtand both King, and Biſhops, ſuch a Legate was agreed upon as ſhould favour the oath, yet be no Biſhop. It was preſſed home to the Pope, that the Archbiſhop and his party, were paſſionate ſeekers of this Reconciliation; and in order, and preparation thereunto, had already brought in many Rites, Ceremonies, and Doctrines, nearly approaching the Church of *Rome*, and that if the work were not ſpeeded during his life time, greater difficulties and re-incounters were likely to interpoſe after his death, and yet for a good ſpace the Pope thought the conditions too unequall. So little weight and proportion did the ſouls of millions hold, in compariſon of one temporall flower, of the Popes garland, and therefore *Panzanies* skill, and induſtry, for a whole yeer could ſcarce maſter theſe animoſities, and facilitate the buſineſſe for his next ſucceſſours: nevertheleſſe, the Pope at laſt, grew more a Courtier, and ſtooped a little to a ſmoothy compliance by his more crafty miniſters, *Con*, and *Roſetti*; and now the plot of the agreement is perfected, and there wants nothing, but the putting of it into execution. Without a compleat quaſhing of the Puritanes (which could hardly be effected but by their utter ſubverſion, the wiſhed reconciliation could not yet be conſummated, and the Puritanes being the greater part of the Kingdom by far, this task muſt needs be very cumberſome, *Confeſſion* (as our *Venetian* heard ſay) *was a thing held fit to be urged upon us by violence, but fear of commotion hindered it*, and we may very probably conjecture that ſome other groſſer points of Popery had been obtruded upon us alſo by the higher powers, but that the curſed indiſpoſition of the Puritanes was ſuch, that there was great hazard in the attempt. Howſoever our ſtout Prelates were not out of all hope of carrying their deſigne either by fraud or force, or a mixture of both, and therefore ſeeing things

things ſo equally poized in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, they were reſolved that no meer hazard ſhould wholly deterre them from adventuring the utmoſt. *Scotland* appeared wholly almoſt puritanical, but to counterpoiſe that, *Ireland* appeared as generally Popiſh; and for *England*, though the major part there was puritanicall, yet the more potent in place and authority, and the more exquiſite in ſubtiltie, or rather treachery was Popiſh or Proteſtant, that is inclined to combine with Papiſts, and therefore in all this there was little odds, to diſanimate them, neither was there any fear of forraigne forces: for under the deceitfull pretence of our head-ſhip and aſſociation, the Proteſtants in *Germany* and *France* were already much weakned and betrayed, and made jealous of adhering to us, they being brought to ſuch a condition that they could not help themſelves at home, much leſſe annoy enemies abroad. Alſo the King of *Denmark* and Prince of *Aurange*, though Proteſtants, yet were Politicians, and therfore the intereſt of Royalty, would queſtionleſſe prevail more with them, then the intereſt of Religion. It would pleaſe them better to ſee the *Prerogative* gained in *England*, to the damage of Religion, then religion to proſper, by the diminution of Prerogative. It onely remains then that in *England* they plotted Reconciliation be firſt put in execution, and advanced by as ſlow inſenſible degrees, as may be, & great art muſt be uſed, when Churches, Altars, &c. begin to be decored, and geſtures, forms, &c. altered that the people be made to believe, not that popery is to be induced, but that a faire reconciliation between both Churches is to be procured; and not that *Proteſtantiſme* is to be at all in any conſiderable matter changed, but that *Puritaniſme* be exterminated. Alſo when not onely fair allurements, but the two great *Carnificines* of the Land, The *Star-Chamber* and *High-Commiſſion* have by rigour prevailed as far as may be; and when by all other means the *Engliſh* are inured, and familiarized to ſome popiſh rites under the faire pretence of conforming to Reverend Antiquity. Then the *Scots* (who are not ſo apt to be inamoured with the ſplendour and pomp of Church-men as we are) muſt be by all means aſſailed, and urged to union and conformity with the Church of *England*.

And becauſe it is expected that the *Scots* ſhould be more jealous of the leaſt incroachments of Poperie, and more adventurous to ſecure themſelves in ſuch jealouſie, and more unanimous in their adventure; therfore their countrey is to be made the firſt Scene of

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the warre. And since it would be too grosse to impeach the whole Nation of *Puritanisme*, therfore their crime must be rebellion; and the better to imbarque the *English* in the quarrell, that in the *Scots* they might destroy themselves, some new disguise must be put upon the war; it must be divulged, that in stead of setling Bishops in their Sees, and bringing in the *English* Lyturgie, the King has need to be established in his Throne, and *Scotland* to be preserved from *Anarchie*. All the dispute is; Whether Subjects may make resistance by force of Arms against a just, pious, clement Prince, the name of *Bellum Episcopale* is dis-owned: the Title of the Lords anointed will better support the envie of these broils; and it is suggested to the *English*, that both the Laws and Natives of *Scotland* are more *Antimonarchicall* then those of *England*.

All these trains, notwithstanding the *Puritane* faction in *England* (that is, all cordiall *Protestants*) abominated the grounds of that war, and in conclusion, the popish faction, and the Bishops, Nobilitie, Universities and Clergie, which onely challenge the name of *Protestants*, were not able to put the King into such a condition of strength, but that he was driven to give the *Scots* their demanded satisfaction. Hereupon likewise a resolution is taken to summon a Parliament in *England*, as is pretended for the disbanding of the two Armies, and composing these Nationall breaches; but some think, for the turning one or both these Armies another way, and raising farther divisions in the bowels of *England*; but God so overruled the matter, that the *Scots* did peaceably retire, & our souldiers disband without attempting any thing against the Parliament.

And now to recover life again in this so foild an enterprise, nothing will serve, but that the *Irish*, (who were placed as in Ambuscado for the purpose) must rise all in Arms, and most perfidiously execute a secret bloody massacre upon all the *British* Protestants in that Kingdom. Doubtlesse (if ever *Rome* shewed her excellent skill) twas in that silent deep conspiracie, if ever she shewed her fiery zeal, twas in that horrid infernall Tragedie: If ever she discovered her self to the Christian world in her lively colours of whore, witch, murthersse, twas in this unparalleld villany. By this means the Popish affairs are in better state than ever; for *Scotland* stands gazing on, as if she were lost, in admiration, and *Ireland* is become not onely intire for the businesse for its own strength, but is back'd also with some supply out of *Flaunders*, and other Countreys; and even

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the Kings party in *England* (though they hold not open intelligence with them) yet act all the parts of perfect friends & allies to them.

The *Iriſh* Rebels are ſecured by the diverſion of our Cavaliers here, and our Cavaliers here are ſecured by the diverſion made there by the Rebels; both ſides profeſſe and avow the ſame cauſe, and draw their ſwords againſt the ſame Parliament Round-heads; and were it not that our ſhipping did prevent their meetings, doubtleſſe our Cavaliers would procure ſome forces from *Ireland*, and the *Iriſh* would be ſupplyed with other neceſſaries out of *England*; and yet tis advantage to the Popiſh abettors here, to diſclaime the advantage of Communion with their Popiſh abettors there.

That very Army alſo (which to the great exhauſting of the good party in *England* leavied to oppugne the Rebels) is ſollicited to joyn againſt thoſe, by whom it is leavied; and ſupplies ſent for *Ireland* by the Parliament of *England* are intercepted by the Kings forces, and thus the Parliament (more unfortunate then the *Pelican*) makes wounds in her own breſt, to draw out blood, not for her friends, but for her enemies advantage. In this ſtrange confluence of unexpected miſchiefs, whileſt the Parliament finds her ſelf ſo relinquiſhed by her friends, ſo ſurrounded with enemies of contrary factions and pretences, and ſo undermined with daily new treaſons, She makes her moſt humble addreſſe to the King to ſettle the *Poſſe* or *Militia* of this Kingdom, in faithfull well reputed hands; the King at firſt, in great darkneſſe, neither grants, nor ſeems to deny the requeſt, he profeſſeth no diſlike to the perſons nominated, but alledgeth, that by this means, the Commiſſioners ſhould neither be authoriſed ſolely by his Commiſſion, nor ſhould be diſcharged at his meer pleaſure. The *Scots* had obtained this due righteous ſatisfaction before, and doubtleſſe had taken it as an utter defiance, or invaſion, had they not obtained it; but *England* is denied ſo much right (even after its example, and the good conſequence thereof in *Scotland*) yet remains too inſenſible of their own danger in this fatall ſad deniall. Nevertheleſſe, the contrary faction takes this as the certain trump of war; and leaving us to our deep melancholly, beſtirs it ſelf to win the City of *London*, and all military perſons to the King; and though the City will not prove unfirm to the Parliament, yet the Cavaliers all flock to the Court (and there careſſed by the Queen) vow themſelves to any deſigne whatſoever.

Something alſo is plotted both againſt the City and Parliament,

but proving uneffectuall, becauſe both are ſo ſafe againſt the Popiſh partie and the Cavaliers: therefore it is pretended, that they are unſafe to the King and his Children, and it is ſpread abroad, that the King is in danger of being ſurpriſed by thoſe, who ſhould have been ſurpriſed by his, if God had not otherwiſe provided.

The King is counſelled in the next place therefore to retire to ſome remote Port Town of ſtrength, commodious for receit of Forces both forrain and domeſticall; and his eye is upon Hull, where a great Magazine of Arms is, but in that he is fore-ſtalled by the Parliament. This gives the King occaſion to leavie men at York, for the ſafegard of his perſon, whileſt all intentions of an Army were ſolemnly abjured by himſelf; and the ſame ſeconded by the Lords ſubſcriptions: and this was a good help to encreaſe his Gard into the proportion of an Army, and to give good hope that he might not onely remain ſafe in York, but alſo march forth to ſtorme Hull. But ſoft, I am not to paſſe the ſtory of that march, that was the Rubicon of this war, and it is beyond my purpoſe to trace the buſines any further; what hath ſince followed on both ſides, was enforced by theſe beginnings.

I muſt now leave off my diſcoverie, *Venit Heſperus*; the day it ſelf would fail me, if I ſhould proſecute theſe things too far. He which takes all theſe premiſes into juſt conſideration, can want nothing elſe to convince and ſatisfie, who were the chief Incendiaries of this war, and who were the perſons that did commence and continue all our broils. That the people of theſe our Kingdoms have of late yeers, ſince Queen *Elizabeths* death, ſo prodigiouſly degenerated, as of honourable to become generally diſhonourable, of loyall to become univerſally diſloyall, of naturall to become totally unnaturall, is monſtrous to beleeve. But that King *James* and King *Charles* have varied from the government of Queen *Elizabeth*, and to hold a good underſtanding with Rome, have not been ſo fixedly devoted to the true intereſts of the reformed Religion, and their Subjects proſperitie, as that bleſſed Lady was, is a truth that Heaven and earth will give teſtimony to. That ambitious Prelates have been our prime Fire-brands is manifeſt alſo; for without their ſtrong inchantments, our Kings would not have been ſo far alienated from us, and without that alienation, the Papiſts could not have ſo far trampled upon us. To compaſſe to themſelves an Empire above Princes, 'tis been ever the charme of Prieſts to make promiſes and

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assurances, that they will elevate Princes as far above their Subjects, by an addition of royaltie, and enlargement of prerogative. In this, all Priests conspire, that prefer earth before Heaven, be they Protestant or Popish, be they English or Romish, the difference is onely this: the English Prelate affects Popery for Tyrannies sake, whereas the Romish prelate affects Tyranny for Poperies sake; but both affect both for their own preferments sake: for without Tyrannie Poperie cannot be enforced, and without Poperie Tyrannie cannot be suported; and as both cannot be establisht, but by a conspiracie of both parties, so neither is that conspiracie sufficient, unlesse the King also be won by it. Therefore in the Scots war it was suggested to the King, that the Crown could not stand without the Myter, and thereupon amongst the Plebeians it was dispersed and maintained, that the Bishops fought to maintain the Kings Crown, not that the King fought to uphold the Bishops Myter. And what difference is there now in our case? Is not this warre in England a meer reviving of that warre which was in *Scotland*? Did not our Prelates as openly imbark the King in their quarrell then, as they do now? And do not our Prelates struggle and stir as unanimously now, and stand for the same ends, and adhere to the same confederates, the Papists, as they did then? One drop of water is not more like another, than the Scottish war is like this. And if it be objected, that the Prelates now incense not the King against the Scots, and therefore there is something new in the difference, more then was in that: and further, that they disclaime and abhor the Irish rebellion, and therfore they combine not with Papists. This answer is readily given. The Scots, 'tis true, are fairly entertained in words, but in deeds, all the hostilitie offered to us is aimed at them, and will reach them in the next place, their ruine is most inevitably involved in ours, and the *Stoccado* that pierces it, will easily find a passage thorow our bodies into theirs. I am sure they are too wise a Nation to apprehend otherwise: so also for the *Irish* rebels tis as true, they are ignominiously entertained in words, but indeed all the hostility offered to us, is amity to them, tis arms, monies, supplies sent to them; their protection is involved in our destruction, and our graves is their strongest bulwarks. But oh! how is it, that I am constrained to mention that detestable word *Ireland?* How is it, that that habitation of *Zim* and *Ohim* should enter my mind, to make there as dismall a mansion of horror as it self? Had I such

fountains of tears in my head as *Jeremiah* had, to powre out upon the slain *Protestants* there, twould be some relaxation of grief to me; or had I the bitternesse of soul which *David* had, when the Image of *Judas*, traytorously imbrued in his Lord and Saviours blood represented it self to him, that I might powre out all his Prophetical execrations upon them, and their posterities, who have animated and enabled the rebels there; especiall, (if any of them were *Protestants*, or of the *British* race, or in high place of authority) that, perhaps, would disburthen the too too pressing agonies of my spirit. But alas, alas, perhaps it is more seasonable for me, to pray that the Celestiall groanes of *Manasses* than the infernall tortures of *Judas* may be given by God to those deep ingaged sinners, upon whom this wofull guilt lies. I now wander, and am lost; I must return to the businesse in hand: I hear some say, that the Parliament did first plot and contrive against the Court of *England*; and that all this in the Court hath been but a defensive contriving or counterplotting. Nothing more absurd, nothing more impossible, nothing more inconsistant with the means, nothing more repugnant to the ends of Parliaments: we must suppose that there are about ten *Anabaptists* now in Parliament, that first expelled the major and better part there, and then overcame the major and better part of such as remain unexpelled; then by authority of *Parliament*, and the help of some few other *Anabaptists* in the City, they master and inslave the major and better part also by far, and then by some tumults there raised, they drive the King and all his popish prelaticall courtly and militarie Adherents from the City; then they impose taxes upon the Kingdom, for the maintaining of divers Armies, and thereby tyrannize as the *Decemviri* did in Rome, in spite of King, in spite of Nobilitie, in spite of Gentrie, in spite of Commonaltie, in spite of *Protestants*, in spite of *Papists*, in spite of their own Armies. And then not being sufficiently disconsonant to reason and nature, we must suppose that these ten Anabaptists have been in travail with this designe almost 40 yeers before King *James* began to comply with *Prelates* and *Papists*, and before *Prelates* and *Papists* began to conspire against *Protestants*, under the names of *Puritans*, these Anabaptists were consulting in a close *Junto*, how to get themselves chosen of a *Parliament*, then how to get a *Parliament* called, then how to preserve that *Parliament* from being ever dissolved, then how to effect all these divine miracles, by such means as

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none but themſelves ſhould ever be able to diſcern or comprehend. Is not this a rare ſubject for our great wits at Court to work into Proclamations and Declarations? Tis reported that the Lord *Digby* of late, being at Mr. *Knightleys* houſe in Northamptonſhire in a parlour there, whileſt his Souldiers were buſily ſearching, and plundring, and rifling other roomes, he ſmote his hand upon the table, and ſwore; That that was the table whereat all theſe civill wars had been plotted at leaſt a dozen yeers before. It ſhould ſeem that Mr. *Pym* had ſojourned ſometime in that houſe, and that was ſufficient for an inference, that the neſt of Anabaptiſts had been there too, and that that neſt had ſtudied ſomething, which neither our Kings Cabinet Councellours, nor the *Juntos* of Italy or Spain could make defeiſable. But if there were ſome means for *Parliaments* thus to debaſe *Prerogative*, and diſable *Monarchy*. To what end ſhould they attempt it? Is it for the felicitie of *Parliaments*, to ſubject themſelves to ten unlimitable Anabaptiſts, rather than to endure one moſt admirably bounded *Prince*, and rather to make the whole Land a ſtage of blood, horrour, and crueltie, then to be preſidented by the loyaltie, policie, and religion of their Anceſtors? Other men have ſpoken and written of this ſufficiently. And beſides, if it were poſſible, if it were profitable for *Parliaments* to turn publick oppreſſors, yet ſenſe and experience tels us, that this *Parliament* hath not uſed any oppreſſion, but with much difficultie been redeemed from oppreſſion. But of this ſufficiently alſo hath been written and ſpoken.

It remains therefore, that we compare the means, the ends, the practices of Parliaments, with thoſe of Princes, Papiſts, Prelates, &c. and taking a view of what hath been already ſet forth in this Diſcourſe, parallel the ſame with that which is objected by the other ſide, and it cannot be denied, but Prelates and Papiſts have been formerly conſpirers and drawers on of the Scotch war, and other alterations in Church and State, as is here diſcovered. Then the queſtion is, whether or no they have ſince deſiſted, or changed their reſolutions: ſome change perhaps there is, but not ſuch as may ſecure us; for before they did combat againſt us *de victoria*, now *de vita*; hope of victorie before inflamed them, but fear of ruine now exaſperates them; and in this reſpect our danger is not the leſſe, but the more.

FINIS.

AN APOLOGETICALL POSCRIPT.

I Have now ſaid, and ſaid that; which I expect ſhould expoſe me to all manner of virulent cenſures, and invectives: nay I know I have not onely denuded my back, but even irritated all malevolent perſons to lacerate the ſame, with their ſharpeſt ſcourges: ſomething therefore give me leave to adde by way of Apology, not becauſe I ſhun to ſuffer for truth, but becauſe I fear truth will elſe ſuffer in me. Some of my adverſaries will fall foul upon my perſon, ſeeking to vilifie that: others will condemne my intention ſeeking to ſlander that. This man will charge me of uttering untruths: that man will condemne me for uttering unſeaſonable truths: round about I ſhall be aſſailed, and I muſt traverſe to confront my aſſaylants.

1 In judgement, God's no accepter of perſons, nor ought man to be; it is loſſe of truth, it is forfeiture of righteouſneſſe to remove the eye from the cauſe, and to fix it upon the perſon. In our preſent great differences of State, where the King has ſuch oppoſite Counſels given him, if it would pleaſe his Majeſtie to abdicate all perſonall prepoſſeſſions of either ſide, and look with direct beams upon the meer counſels themſelves without oblique glances upon the counſellors, he could not judge as he does. Upon a ſtrict and ſad reſearch if the King will call his own heart to queſtion, whether the Cavaliers perſon be not the more acceptable becauſe his adviſe favours Prerogative, or his adviſe acceptable the rather becauſe his perſon is thus, and thus indeared; much light will break forth. And ſo on the other ſide, queſtion, if the Roundheads perſon be not the more diſeſteemed, becauſe his adviſe favours the Subjects cauſe; or the advice the rather ſleighted, becauſe his perſon is for ſuch or ſuch a reaſon diſliked, and our own falſifying with our ſelves will be diſcovered.

This diſpute could not poſſibly be ſo intricate, did not particular intereſt captivate our paſſions, & our paſſions betray our judgements, we our ſelves being privy and conſenting to the Treachery.

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2 But others not ſo degenerate perhaps as to upbraid my perſon, yet will be ſo injurious as to blame my intention, as if in this diſcourſe, I had no other end but to make the King odious. Surely neither man, nor Angel has a key to the Cabinet of my breaſt, and he that will judge my heart and reins unknowingly, muſt needs judge unrighteouſly, and in ſuch unrighteous judgement the *Scripture* will pronounce him inexcuſable. This therefore ſhall not diſturbe the calm repoſe of my Loyall thoughts; ſince conſcience is not onely a Tribunall to abſolve the innocent, but alſo a Theatre ample enough to encourage the well deſerving. My intention was not to caſt any odium upon the King, but to wipe off that odium which is unjuſtly caſt upon the Parliament, and it is greatly for the benefit of the King to ſee that the jealouſies of the Parliament, concerning Religion, have not been cauſleſſe, or falſe: and it is as greatly for the honour of the King, to acknowledge his own miſtakes. If I can ſhew the King wherein he has been deceived, and drawn into irregular acts, I do more vindicate his honour, then he which continues the deceit, and confirms him in his miſcarriages.

3 But ſome will ſay the maine ſubſtance of this diſcourſe is untrue, and contains many paſſages ſcandalous, and unjuſtifiable. Herein I appeal to all good and knowing men, and I deſire of them onely to view how far I have grounded my ſelf upon the authorities of others, whom I gueſſed to be leſſe liable to exception, and how little uſe *I* have made of my own conjectures, or conceits. And I appeal to time alſo the mother of truth, not doubting but that ere long ſhe both can, and will bring to light much more, contrived, deſigned, and acted by our *Prelates* and their Romiſh Correſpondo's, then has yet been produced. That which is other mens therefore in this diſcourſe, let them anſwer for; what is mine I ſhall anſwer for; but let us be fairly convinced, and equitablely treated: as I have laboured to prove, not ſay; ſo let my opponent diſprove, and not meerly gainſay, and the difference will not ſpread far.

4 But I hear a fourth man ſay, that ſome truths may be unſeaſonably ſpoken, and at ſome times ſavour of much incivilitie, and indiſcretion. I confeſſe this, and that it is more unuſuall to offend by ſilence then by ſpeech; yet this doth not conclude but that ſilence ſometimes, may be very fatall and pernicious, and that in this caſe it had ſo been. It is not unknown to me, that to flatter is generally more beneficiall then to rebuke, and it is more adæquate

to

to my *Genius* to extoll, then to cenſure others, and yet my conſcience tels me, that neither the advantage of ſpeaking obſequious things, nor the ſatisfaction of ſpeaking plauſible things ought to tranſvert me from ſpeaking things abſolutely juſt and neceſſarie. Now if ever any thing was abſolutely juſt, and neceſſarie, & might patronize boldneſſe and freedom of ſpeech, certainly this diſcovery is of that nature, for what better office can be done, then to remove miſ-underſtanding betwixt a King and his Parliament, at ſuch a time as this, when true Religion, and the beings of three Kingdoms are indangered thereby? To un deceive that Prince which miſtakes his friends for foes, and his foes for friends, and thereupon imbroils himſelf, and all his ſubjects in a moſt wofull war, can never be unſeaſonable or uncivill: and therefore to reveal to our Prince, that his Prelates and Papiſts are his enemies, and the Parliament his friends, and to inſtance wherein at this time of ſo much publick diſtreſſe, can ſavour of nothing but reverence to Religion, loyalty to Gods anointed, and affection to the State. God grant that theſe things may be heard as diſpaſſionately as they are ſpoken, and that profitable truths may be better entertained then pleaſing untruths, and that his Majeſty being inſtructed and advertiſed of the malignancy of his counſellors by the wretched ſucceſſe of their counſels, may change our miſeries, by changing his own reſolution, and that the harſhneſſe of this very motion may not bereave him of the good conſequence of it. *Auguſtus Cæſar* did without vain boaſting ſay of *Rome*, *Lateritiam inveni, marmoream reliqui*; and juſtly was *Rome* it ſelf a glorious tombe to him dying, who had written living ſo glorious an Epitaph thereupon with his own magnificence.

O may no contrary Epitaph to this be inſculped upon King *Charles* his monument, may it never be tranſmitted to poſterity, that Sions marble Turrets which courted the clouds at his inauguration, were ſadly left mourning in the duſt at his expiration.

FINIS.